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# AMERICAN JOURNAL OF ARCHÆOLOGY.

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## ANDOKIDES.

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Of all the vase-painters who were at work in Athens in and about the year 525 B. C., Andokides is one of the most interesting. Part of this interest is due to the fact that he seems never to have been careless in his work; so that although his figures are often out of drawing, and always show a power of observation stronger than his power of correct delineation, still his work as a whole is thoroughly good. Another source of interest lies in the fact that he lived at the period when the black-figured ware was going out of fashion and a new style with red figures was taking its place. Andokides did not, however, at once give up the old manner for the new, and we find several vases signed by him, on one side of which is a black-figured picture, while on the other is a red-figured one. He evidently thought both the black and the red forms of decoration were good, and so tried to give his vases an added charm by combining the two styles. The same idea is shown on much later vases, though in these the black decoration has a secondary importance.<sup>1</sup>

Klein, in the second edition of his *Griechischen Vasen mit Meistersignaturen*, enumerates six vases<sup>2</sup> signed by Andokides. Other students have, however, attributed to him other vases on the strength of the similarity in style between them and the signed

<sup>1</sup> *Monumenti Inediti dell' Istituto Archeologico*, XI, Pl. 19. GERHARD, *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, 269, 285. JAHN, *Beschreibung d. Vasensammlung in München*, 411.

<sup>2</sup> Five amphoræ and one kylix.

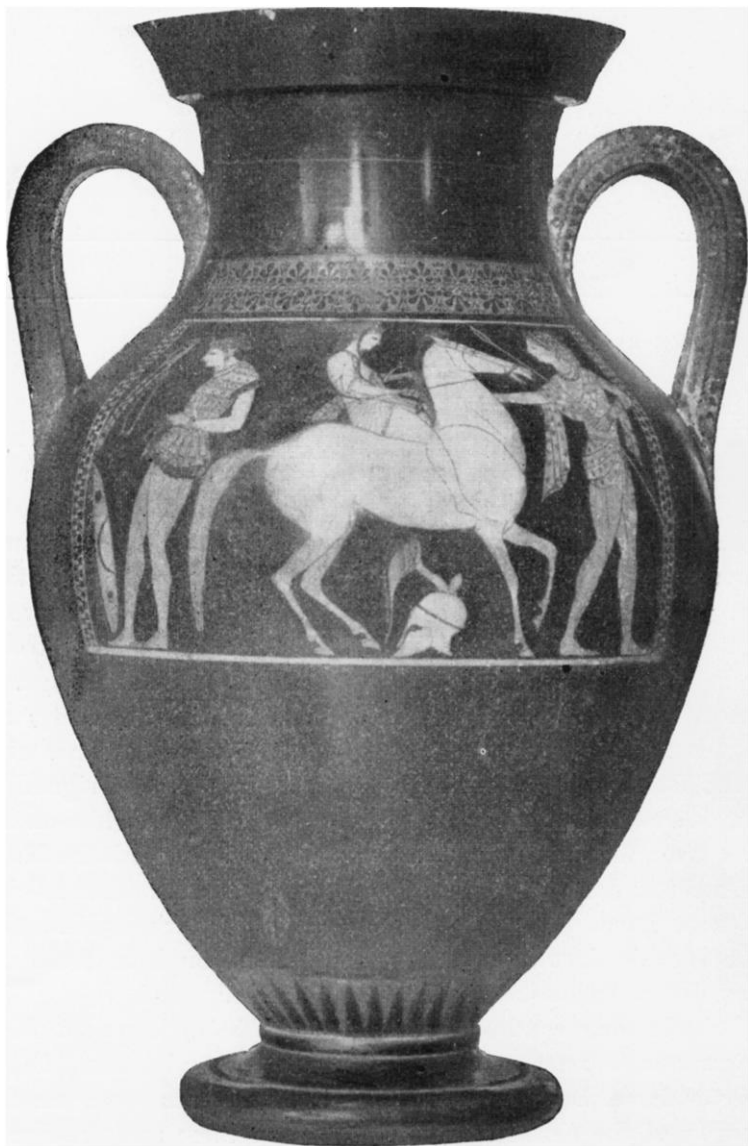


FIG. 1.—OBVERSE OF AMPHORA BY ANDOKIDES—LOUVRE.



FIG. 2.—REVERSE OF AMPHORA BY ANDOKIDES—LOUVRE.

ones.<sup>3</sup> Klein himself in a single instance attempted to do this. I have not seen the vase itself which he considers to be by Andokides, but, to judge from the plate which he quotes,<sup>4</sup> the vase bears but very little resemblance to the master's signed work.<sup>5</sup>

Owing to the kindness of Professor Furtwaengler, I am now enabled to add several vases to the number of those which, if not actually by Andokides, are at least intimately connected with him. In style they agree absolutely with his signed work; but when one remembers the extreme conventionality of the vase-painting in this early time, a conventionality that controlled even the smallest details, and further our ignorance of the customs of the potters' guild (if one may use the term) in ancient times, it becomes manifest that we can, with safety, only say that these vases show his style and came probably from his workshop. Whether they are actually by him or not, is another question, and one of but secondary importance. The general questions of where and when they were made, and what currents of thought they make manifest, are the important problems to solve. The name of the potter is not of the slightest value. Whether it be Andokides or another it means absolutely nothing to us, for we know nothing about him. An algebraic equation would do quite as well. The very lack of signature on work that is so exactly similar to vases that he did sign is curious. Is it not possible that pupils and assistants were the makers of the unsigned vases? To whomever they are due, such a statement as Klein makes:<sup>6</sup> "Von den schwarz- und rothfigurigen Amphoren gehört ihm auch der grösste Theil der unsignirten," is unproved and misleading.

Before beginning the discussion of the vases, I will add a few notes to Klein. His No. 1<sup>7</sup> has since been published in the

<sup>3</sup> FURTWÄENGLER, *Archäologische Zeitung*, 1881, p. 301; also in ROSCHER's *Lexikon d. Griech. Mythologie*, I, 2196, l. 58, 2205, l. 51. HAUSER, *Jahrbuch d. k. d. arch. Inst.*, 1893, p. 100, note. WALTERS, *Catalogue of Black-figured Vases in the British Museum*, 193.

<sup>4</sup> NOEL DESVERGERS, *L'Étrurie et les Étrusques*, Pl. 9.

<sup>5</sup> Of this vase, SIX in the *Gazette Archéologique*, 1888, p. 196, says: "un vase que M. Klein attribue, à tort à mon avis, à Andokidès."

<sup>6</sup> *Griech. Vasen mit Meistersign.*, 2d ed., p. 188. Cf. his *Euphronios*, p. 36, note.

<sup>7</sup> *Griech. Vasen mit Meistersign.*, p. 189.



FIG. 3.—OVERSE OF AMPHORA BY ANDOKIDES—MADRID.



FIG. 4.—REVERSE OF AMPHORA BY ANDOKIDES—MADRID.

catalogue of the Burlington Fine-Arts Club, 1888, No. 108 is here drawn from photographs.

His No. 2 is here given in half-tone (Figs. 1 and 2).

His No. 3, now in Madrid (Figs. 3 and 4). The verb in the inscription has the form *ἐπόεσεν*, not *ἐπολέσεν*. Cf. *Arch. Anz.*, 1893, p. 9.

His No. 5 is here drawn from photographs (Figs. 5 and 6). It is not true that the lyre-player "sitzt auf einem Stuhl." He stands upright (Fig. 6).

No. 6. Published with plate by Scheider in the *Jahrbuch d. k. d. arch. Inst.*, 1889, p. 195, Taf. 4.

The vase which Andokides seems to have made oftenest is the amphora of the form<sup>8</sup> that prevailed in Greece at this period, and all the vases to which I shall call attention are of this type. His style, as is always the case with an artist whose work is bound rather closely by conventionalities, can be learned better from looking at the reproductions of his vases than by a description. His chief characteristics are considerable freedom of composition, great delicacy in drawing, and great wealth of detail.

No. 1. The first vase which I will mention is in the British Museum (Figs. 7 and 8). There is little to be added to the description in the catalogue,<sup>9</sup> but it may be well to point out, more in detail than is done there, the similarity of this vase to the signed work of Andokides. To begin with, if the Athena be compared with the Athena on the Berlin vase,<sup>10</sup> (Fig. 10) the similarity between the two will be seen to be very great. The drawing of the figure, as a whole, with the clothes following exactly the outline of the body, with but a few straight lines to indicate folds at the bottom, is the same in both, and also the same as on one of the signed vases in the Louvre.<sup>11</sup> Further, the rich decoration of her chiton is such as occurs on all the signed vases. The helmet is of the Attic form, which Andokides used only for Athena. To other figures he gave the Korinthian helmet. The figure is unfortunately not completely preserved. The middle part of the

<sup>8</sup> FURTWAENGLER, *Berliner Vasensammlung*, Taf. IV, 35.

<sup>9</sup> *Cat. of the Black-figured Vases in the Brit. Mus.*, No. 193.

<sup>10</sup> GERHARD, *Trinkschalen u. Gefässe i. d. Mus. zu Berlin*, Taf. XIX.

<sup>11</sup> KLEIN, *Griech. Vasen mit Meistersign.*, p. 190, 5.



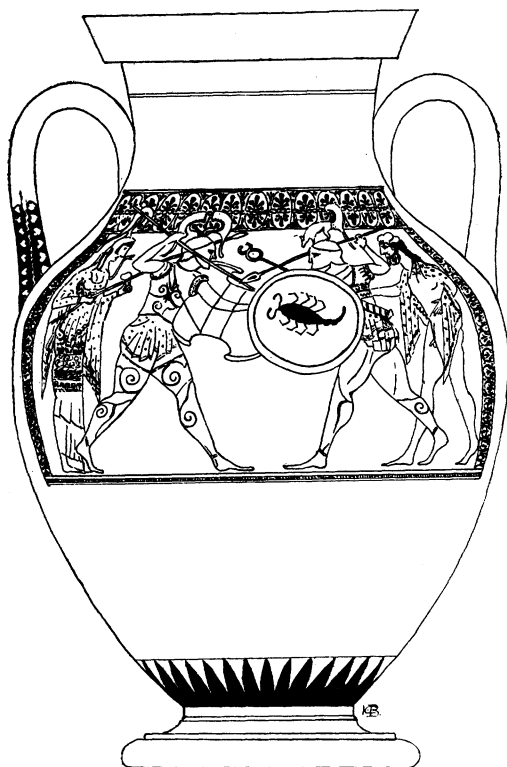


FIG. 5.—OBVERSE OF AMPHORA BY ANDOKIDES—LOUVRE.

body, from the breast to the middle of the thigh, including the right hand and wrist and left arm, has been restored. The left hand may have held something—a flower, perhaps, as on the signed Louvre vase. There is no telling what form the ægis had, for the Berlin and Louvre vases show two dissimilar and fantastic forms, while on the similar unsigned vases we find others. The manner in which the hair of Herakles and Iolaos is painted, with slightly raised little lumps of black, occurs also on the Berlin

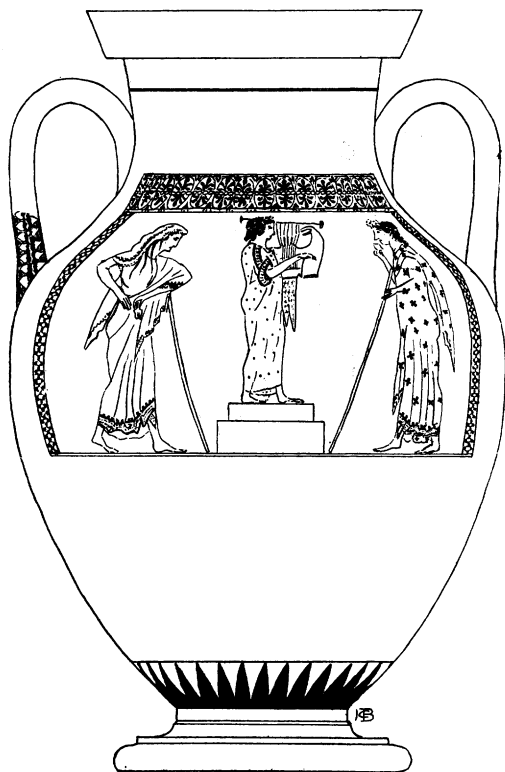


FIG. 6.—REVERSE OF AMPHORA BY ANDOKIDES—LOUVRE.

vase. Further, although Andokides was not the only vase-painter who used the form of sword-sabbard such as Iolaos here has, still it is the one that occurs almost exclusively on his vases. The overlaying of white and purple paint is another characteristic of the work of Andokides.

This overlaying of red paint on the early red-figured vases is interesting, as showing how the Greek potters did not at first grasp the full force of their new invention, and so often painted details



FIG. 7.—OBVERSE OF AMPHORA IN THE STYLE OF ANDOKIDES—BRITISH MUSEUM.

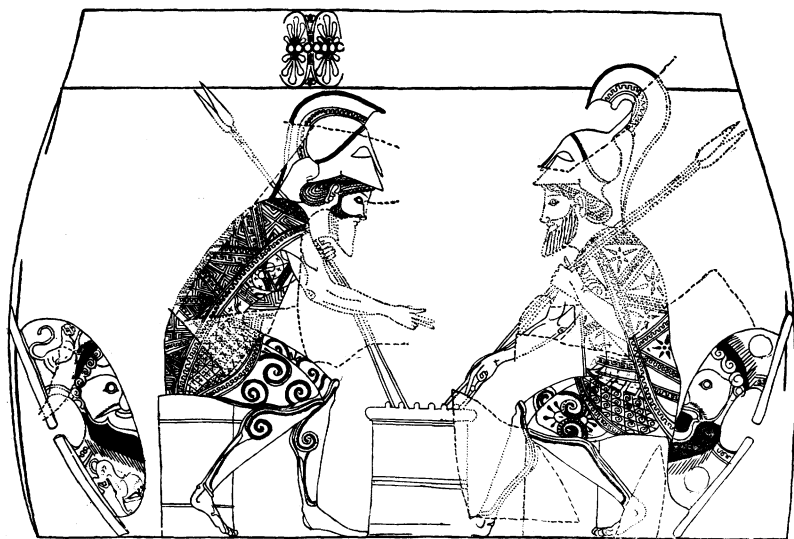


FIG. 8.—REVERSE OF AMPHORA IN THE STYLE OF ANDOKIDES—BRITISH MUSEUM.

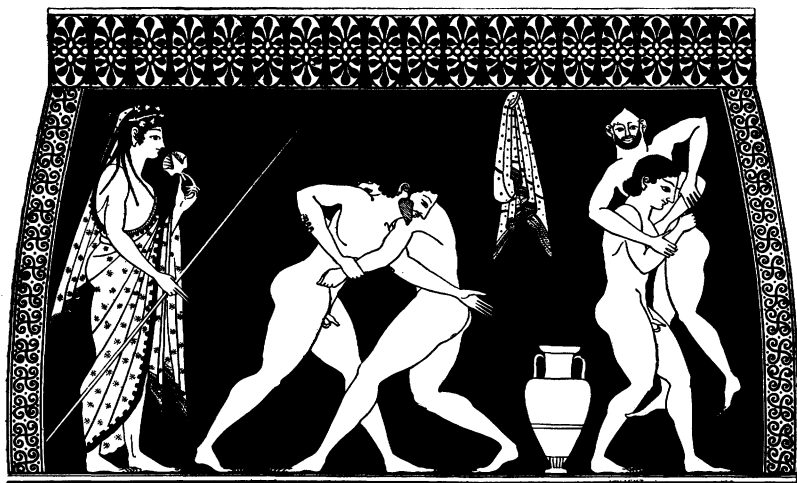


FIG. 9.—OBVERSE OF AMPHORA BY ANDOKIDES—BERLIN.



FIG. 10.—REVERSE OF AMPHORA BY ANDOKIDES—BERLIN.

of their work in the way they had been used to paint them on black-figured vases. Another illustration of the same fact is shown by an amphora<sup>12</sup> in Munich. On one side is a black-figured scene of heroes playing with *pessi*. Between them stands Athena. On the other side is a red-figured Dionysiac scene. The figures in this latter scene have the round eyes of black-figured work; but what is to be particularly noticed is that most of the main outlines of the scene are *incised*. The artist evidently was so used to black-figured work that he did not realize that red-figured work did away with the necessity of engraved outlines. Another point that illustrates the misconception of the possibilities of the red-figured technique by the potters who first practised it, is that there are vases on which the inner markings of the figures (sometimes all, sometimes only part) are scratched (one can scarcely say incised) by some dull tool. The kylix in Munich, signed by Phintias,<sup>13</sup> is such a vase. Another is a fine amphora in Munich.<sup>14</sup> It belongs to the black and red-figured class. On the black-figured side Herakles, attended by Iolaos, mounts a chariot. At the horses' heads stands Hermes. On the red-figured side Dionysos lies on a *κλίνη* attended by a maenad and a satyr. The names of all the figures are engraved, and also the inscription 'Ἴπποκράτης καλός. The maenad is the figure to be noticed, for the upper part of the chiton is covered by dull incised lines carefully drawn from neck to waist, reminding one of the archaic female statues in Athens.<sup>15</sup>

A careful search in any large vase collection would undoubtedly reveal many more such instances as those above noted.

To return to the discussion of the British Museum vase. As is pointed out in the catalogue, the manner in which Herakles holds the lion (Fig. 7) is, apparently, quite a new invention of the artist,

<sup>12</sup> JAHN, *Cat. d. Vasensamm. in München*, 375. The vase is carelessly drawn.

<sup>13</sup> See KLEIN, *op. cit.*, p. 192. HARTWIG, *Griech. Meisterschalen*, p. 169.

<sup>14</sup> JAHN, 373. One archæologist to whom I showed this vase felt convinced that it was by Andokides. To my eye the drawing is not good enough for him (note the breasts of the maenad); nor is the detail rich enough, nor the type of face such as he and his assistants (?) drew. Why attribute all vases that are more or less alike to one man?

<sup>15</sup> Cf. also Munich, 373, 374, 378, 410, on which the dresses and bodies in part are so marked.

derived perhaps from the common type of Herakles throwing the boar down on Eurystheus. An unknown predecessor of Andokides seems to have had the same idea as to the way in which Herakles threw the lion, for he has represented the beast lying on his back, while the hero, throttling him with one hand, pounds him with the club.<sup>16</sup>

But it is this very divergence from the hackneyed type of the scene, this attempt to give new life to a composition which became tiresome through incessant repetition, that stamps this vase more certainly than any quantity of technical details could do as being the work of Andokides or his school. I shall recur to this characteristic of his vases again, and it ought to be borne clearly in mind.

The scene on the other side of the vase, of two heroes playing with *pessi* (Fig. 8), looks as though it were but a reworking of the group on a well-known vase by Exekias.<sup>17</sup> The marked similarity between the two scenes need not make us believe that one artist was intimately connected with the other. Granted that this composition was part of the stock in trade of the vase-painters of the transition period (a fact which is absolutely certain), an artist with the technique of Andokides would, if he undertook to draw the scene, of necessity produce much the same picture as Exekias.

It appears, then, that the pictures on this vase agree with the work of Andokides in regard to both form and details; and that, further, the most striking mark of his work—a confidence in his powers of delineation which led him to break free from the bonds of convention—is clearly visible. No one can doubt that the statement in the British Museum catalogue is correct: that the vase is in the style of Andokides. It is either by him or some one working under him.

No. 2. This amphora, of the same type as the others, is in the Louvre (Figs. 11 and 12). On the black-figured side (Fig. 11) is Dionysos in white chiton and striped and dotted himation, which is drawn under the right arm and thrown back over the left shoulder. He stands to the right. He is crowned with ivy and holds in his left hand a conventionalized vine with bunches

<sup>16</sup> GERHARD, *Auserl. Vasenb.*, Taf. 94.

<sup>17</sup> *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, 1888. Taf. VI, 1.



FIG. 11.—OVERSE OF AMPHORA IN THE STYLE OF ANDOKIDES—LOUVRE.

of grapes thereon. In his right hand he holds a kantharos, which an ivy-crowned maenad, clad in the same way as Dionysos, but with black and dotted chiton, fills from an oinochoe in her right hand. Following her comes a bearded and ivy-crowned satyr carrying a wine-skin over his left shoulder. Dionysos is followed by two similar satyrs, of whom the first one plays a lyre. He also has a bit of drapery over his left shoulder. The one behind plays with *krotala*.

On the red-figured side (Fig. 12), on the right, Kerberos, with two heads, a snake rising from the forehead of each, and a snake-tail stands to the left, under a conventionalized Doric building. Herakles, clad in short tunic and lion's skin, armed with bow, quiver and sword, stoops towards the dog. He holds a chain in his left hand, while he stretches out his right with a petting gesture.

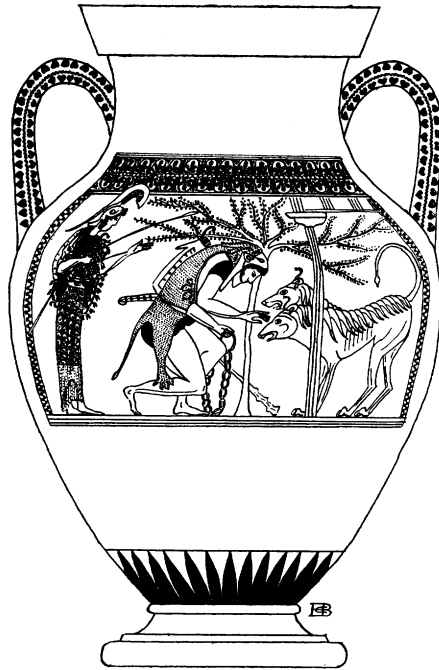


FIG. 12.—REVERSE OF AMPHORA IN THE STYLE OF ANDOKIDES—LOUVRE.

Between the two is a tree, against which leans Herakles' club. Behind Herakles stands, to the right, Athena, clad in a richly-decorated Ionic chiton. She wears an ægis without gorgoneion, and an Attic helmet, and she carries a spear in her right hand; she stretches her left towards the hero.

In technique this vase agrees perfectly with those by Andokides. The Athena is almost a replica of the figure on the British Museum vase, and consequently bears a similar relationship to the Athenas on the signed vases. The most noticeable characteristic of the figure of Herakles is the attempt of the artist to render a natural attitude—an attempt which is in large degree successful.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>18</sup> A similar representation of the scene is mentioned by FURTWAENGLER as being in the *Apparat d. Berl. Mus.*, *Mappe*, 12, 10. See ROSCHER's *Lexikon*, I, 2205, l. 50. The same scene on a black-figured amphora in Moscow (see *Jahrbuch d. k. d. Arch. Inst. zu Berlin*, 1893, pp. 156-7) shows Andokides' superiority to his predecessors.



This attempt to reproduce more natural and more complicated attitudes than his predecessors had succeeded in representing is the most distinctive, though not the most noticeable, characteristic of Andokides. The peculiarities of his technique, though they resemble those of other artists, are his most noticeable characteristic, and are likely to blind one to the real interest of his work, which lies in the fact that he shows on almost every vase that is certainly by him an endeavor to attain a greater freedom, be it in subject or treatment, than that of his predecessors. We have noticed this in the Herakles scene on the British Museum vase, and it is very marked on the signed amphoras. On the Berlin vase the groups of athletes (Fig. 9) with their intermingled and foreshortened bodies, and the figures of hares in place of the usual palmettes under the handles, and on one of the Louvre vases the swimming girls show clearly the direction of his artistic endeavor.

The black-figured scene on this vase is less well drawn than any of the signed work, and in this respect is similar to the unsigned vase in Bologna of which I shall speak later. The satyrs are of the same type (with long hair and horses' ears) as those on the signed vases at Madrid and Castle Ashby, though in the latter case their hair is cut short. This similarity, however, is not evidence for or against the vase being the work of Andokides, because it was the usual type at this time. The bad drawing is, on the contrary, distinctly against such an origin. The drawing of the muscles of the satyrs is quite different from that of Andokides, and worse than his, though his is none too good. The most marked difference occurs in the drawing of the stomach muscles. On the vase under consideration they are done in a manner at once hasty, conventional and incorrect. On the Madrid and Castle Ashby vases, Andokides has indicated them with a general accuracy, and has also suggested the ribs, which the artist of this vase fails to do. Further, Andokides, on the signed vases just referred to, shows more or less knowledge of the articulation of the knee; whereas the artist of this vase draws it in two different and equally bad ways. Similar bad drawing is shown in the two principal figures of Dionysos and the Maenad. Both of them are wooden and lifeless, and remind one of the figures on earlier black-figured vases; while in the drapery of neither is

Andokides's love of delicate ornament and fine folds visible. In fact, this black-figured picture and the one on the Bologna vase described below do not agree in style with the work of Andokides. The red-figured scenes on the same vases agree much better. It is quite possible that he made both the vases, but it is equally possible that some underling made them in his shop.

No. 3.<sup>19</sup> This vase, an amphora like all the others, is in Bologna (Figs. 13 and 14). On the red-figured side Dionysos, with long locks and hair bound by a fillet, stands to the right (Fig. 13). He wears an Ionic chiton covered with small dots and an himation with round spots, each surrounded by a circle of dots. In his left hand he holds a branch of grapevine on which are bunches of grapes—the outlines being incised, as is the hair of the figures. In his right hand he has a kantharos. Towards him steps a maenad clad in Ionic chiton decorated with crosses and half maenaders. Over her head she has a hood of the same stuff. A chlamys ornamented with dots and crosses hangs on her shoulder; the ends, one crossing her breast and one her back, are thrown over her right arm, which she holds toward her face, as though smelling the flower in her hand. In her left hand she carries a lyre. She wears large earrings with pendants and a necklace. Behind each of these figures is a satyr with a fillet in his long hair. The one on the left plays a flute, which he holds in his right hand, while he has another in his left. The one on the right holds his right hand open and slightly outstretched, his left clenched and at his side.

On the black-figured side Herakles, in cuirass and short tunic, with sword at side, strides to the right, grasping the Nemean lion in his arms (Fig. 14). The lion stands on his hind legs and has a dotted mane. Behind this group is Iolaos, dressed in the same way as his master. He too has a sword. Both his arms are bent at the elbows; in his right hand he holds the club of Herakles resting on his shoulder; in his left the bow. In front of the group is Athena, striding to the right. She is clad in a long ornamented chiton, and is armed with spear, helmet

<sup>19</sup> Mentioned by FURTWAENGLER in ROSCHER's *Lex.*, I, 2196, l. 68. I am told by Dr. Fried. Hauser, of Stuttgart, that there is a capital drawing of it in the *Apparat des Rom. Inst.*

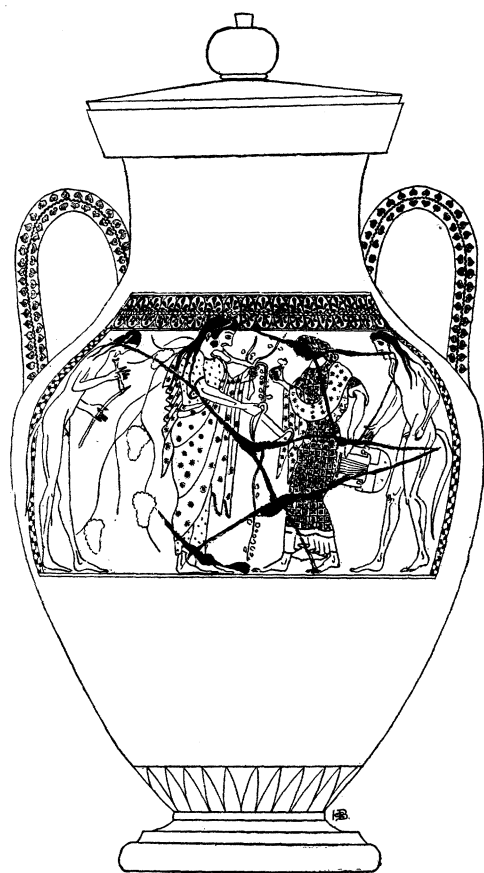


FIG. 13.—OBVERSE OF AMPHORA IN STYLE OF ANDOKIDES—BOLOGNA.

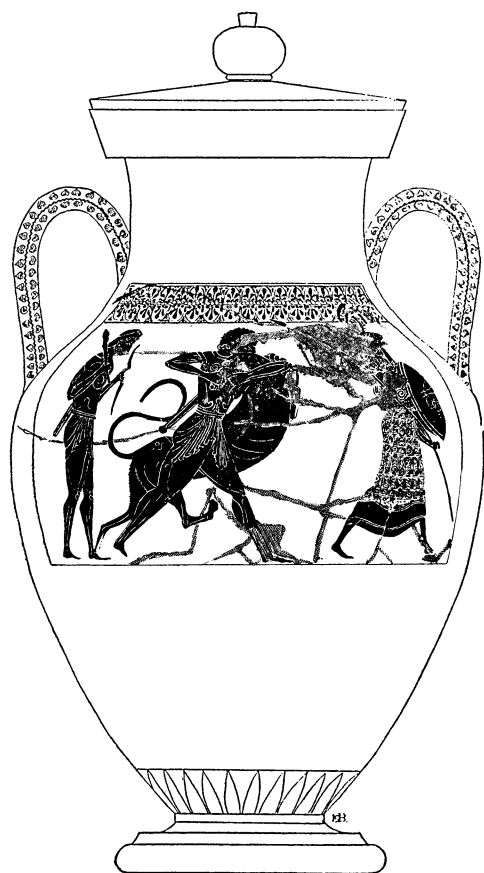


FIG. 14.—REVERSE OF AMPHORA IN STYLE OF ANDOKIDES—BOLOGNA.

and shield. The symbol on the latter is a lion's head. She turns her head to look at the fight.

At the first glance one sees that this vase belongs to the same set as the others, and a minute examination brings conviction that, if not by Andokides himself, it is very probably the product of his shop. The satyrs are of the same type that we have seen before on these vases; and if the drawing of their knees seems hardly good enough for Andokides, still the freedom with which the figures are drawn, and the general naturalness of their attitudes, are eminently in his spirit. Further, the draperies of the two central figures on the red-figured side, with their rich and delicately drawn patterns, the fine folds and the manner in which they follow the outline of the figure, are exactly correspondent to the draperies on the signed vases. The maenad is, however, the figure which both as a whole and in every detail shows the spirit of Andokides. The freedom with which her body is bent at every joint distinguishes her from the work of the earlier vase painters, such as Amasis and Exekias, as clearly as it shows the same feeling for naturalism that Andokides shows in his swimming girls, in the capital foreshortening of the Athena on the Berlin vase, or the figures standing by the lyre-player on the Louvre vase. As I have said before, it is this, in great measure successful, attempt to make his accuracy of hand equal his sharpness of vision that distinguishes Andokides from other potters of his time. The visual comparison between this figure and the two maenads by Amasis<sup>20</sup> shows this more clearly than words can. Beyond this general similarity there is a further one of details. The gesture of holding a flower occurs on the Berlin vase and twice on one of the Louvre vases. It is, however, a gesture so common that its occurrence on this vase is hardly more than negative evidence in favor of the theory that the vase is by Andokides. The way, however, in which the further side of the maenad's chiton is shown at the bottom, is a characteristic which is, I believe, confined to Andokides and his school. It occurs on all the signed vases on which there are figures in chitons, and is another indication of the artist's attempt at naturalism. Still further evidence is afforded by the earring, made of a large circle of gold (?) with

<sup>20</sup> *Wiener Vorlegebl.*, 1889. Taf. III, 2.

heavy pendants. This and similar large forms occur several times on the signed vases.<sup>21</sup> Similar earrings were used by Amasis to deck out his figures, but other artists at this time seem not to have used them.

It is such little details as this that mark the individuality of Andokides, and show how he was striving to make his art a means of personal expression in preference to a mere conveyance for stereotyped, and hence lifeless, forms. If we look at the signed vases (for, of course, we can argue from them alone, though all remarks of a general character that I make about them will be found to hold good of the unsigned vases as well), we see that he rarely repeated details. The figures of Athena are in both the instances where they occur considerably alike, but the artist shows his fancy and taste for variety in the differing forms of her ægis and in all the finer details of her dress. If we continue this comparison of the figures of Athena to the unsigned vases, the general similarity combined with differences of detail becomes more and more marked. This general likeness, and the stiffness which is strongly marked in her figure, may be due to the artist's feeling of reverence for the gods, and more particularly to his reverence for traditional religious symbols *per se*. The same stiffness, and a look of greater archaism than one sees in his human figures, are plain also in the figures of Dionysos. Although aiming to make his pictures as lifelike as possible, and doubtless sharing the common belief that gods and goddesses possessed human forms and appeared, as he depicted them, on earth among men, he yet was not entirely free of the feeling that an indescribable something of divinity rested in the statues themselves of the divinities which he worshipped, as his ancestors had done before him. And so when he came to draw these divinities, instead of lending them the life he did the other figures, he copied some statue—or at least repeated types which were originally derived from statues.<sup>22</sup> There is no reason to doubt that a statue was the

<sup>21</sup> Once on the Berlin vases and six or seven times (the photograph which I have of the vase does not allow me to be certain) on the signed "Amazon" vase in the Louvre.

<sup>22</sup> Types exactly similar in general style to those of Andokides are of so frequent occurrence on the earlier vases that it is probable the feeling I have assumed was held by Andokides was common to the majority of his countrymen.

model for the Athena. That such types existed in sculpture at this time the figure of the goddess in the west pediment of the temple at Aegina shows—a figure which agrees almost perfectly with these figures on the vases. The head on the early Attic coins is also very similar, though the crest of the helmet naturally had to be altered to suit the shape of the coin. It is worth while noticing, however, that the helmet is of the Attic type (on the coins, without cheekpieces), which was the only one given Athena at this time. What adds strength to the belief that Andokides had some statue in his mind when he drew this figure, is the fact that, beyond the general similarity of the figures, the helmets, even down to the scrolls upon them, are almost copies one of another.

The same love of variety of detail is noticeable on the Amazon vase in the Louvre. Of the three Amazons, each one is differently dressed from the other two, and on the other side of the vase no two of the swimmers are alike. So on the other vase in the Louvre, the two men who listen to the lyre-player are unlike in dress and gesture, while on the opposite side of the vase the two warriors differ from each other in every detail.

Turning now to the black-figured side of the Bologna vase, we notice the same pooriness of work as compared with the red-figured side that we saw on the unsigned vase in the Louvre. The Athena is as ill-drawn a figure as could be found on a pan-Athenaic amphora. The drawing of the knees of Herakles and Iolaos shows the same misunderstanding that is visible on the Louvre vase. The drawing of the feet and legs is also unusually bad. But together with all these dissimilarities to the certain work of Andokides, there are many similarities, such as the delicacy and detail of the drawing, the shape and decorations of the sword scabbard, the use of purple-red for the beards of the figures,<sup>23</sup> and the foreshortenings of Athena's shield. The same conclusion that we formed in regard to the other unsigned vases is the best here—that the vase is not by Andokides himself, but was very probably produced under his direct supervision.

No. 4. The vase that now comes under consideration is in

<sup>23</sup> My photograph of the vase does not allow me to be absolutely sure of this, but I think there is no doubt.

the Faina collection in Orvieto.<sup>24</sup> Both sides are red-figured. On one Herakles, to the right, shoots an arrow at two Amazons who attack him. Behind him stands Athena turned to right. At his feet lies a third Amazon, who raises her hand, imploring mercy. A fourth, behind the first two, is wounded in the thigh and walks off to the right, turning, however, to look at the battle. Herakles is clad in a lion's skin, the fur of which is indicated by dots, and a short but gaily-patterned tunic. He is armed with bow, quiver and sword. Athena, armed with spear, helmet and shield (sign, a gorgoneion), seems almost a copy of the figure of the same goddess on the signed vases.<sup>25</sup> Of the Amazons, the one on the ground leans on her left arm and raises the right towards Herakles. She is armed with shield (sign, a flying bird and dots) and sword. She wears a short tunic covered with patterns—maeanders, dots, stripes and rows of animals (?). Her hair is gathered together in a dotted hood, and she wears large, round earrings. Of the two fighting Amazons, the farther one is armed with a Korinthian helmet, the top decorated with a scale pattern, spear, shield (sign, rays) and greaves (edges ornamented). The nearer one has a short spotted tunic and her hair gathered into a hood. She has large earrings with three pendants, a necklace, and is armed with spear, sword and shield (sign, flying bird within a circle of dots). The wounded Amazon also has her hair in a hood(?) and is clad in a short dotted tunic with a dotted chlamys over her shoulders. She is armed with a bow.

On the other side of the vase Dionysos, bearded, stands to the right, playing a lyre. He wears an Ionic(?) chiton patterned with dots and crosses and an himation of the same pattern. Before him stands "una donna [a maenad] (orecchini) che porta un cantaro ed un' oenochoe."<sup>26</sup> She is crowned with ivy(?), as are also the two bearded satyrs behind Dionysos. Both of these latter have long hair, and one carries the other on his shoulders. The field of the design is filled by branches of grape-vine, on

<sup>24</sup> See *Ann. dell' Instit.*, 1877, p. 133.

<sup>25</sup> The photographs which I had taken of the vase are so extremely bad that it is impossible to be absolutely certain in respect to some details.

<sup>26</sup> I take the description of this figure from the *Annali* because I can make absolutely nothing of my photograph.



which hang bunches of grapes, the outlines of which are incised, and the single grapes made by little lumps of black. Whether the vine leaves are laid on with red paint, or made in true red-figured technique, I cannot tell.

As in the case of the other unsigned vases, one can see at once that this vase is closely connected with Andokides. The love of fine detail, the delicacy and accuracy of the drawing, the naturalness and complication of the two scenes, is just what we have seen on his signed vases. Of the figures which compose the scene of Herakles and the Amazons, Athena is the only one who is stiff and awkward,—but this difference between her and the other figures I have already explained. In detail she seems to be precisely like the Athena on the Berlin vase; the foreshortening of her shield (*cf.* also that of the fallen Amazon) being a very noticeable point of similarity. But it is the bold way in which the artist did not hesitate to throw his figures together in any way that might make the scene seem vivid and lifelike, that stamps the vase with certainty as being either by Andokides himself or by a pupil of his. The way in which Herakles strides over the fallen Amazon, who, leaning on her left arm, raises her right hand towards the hero, is exactly similar, in the expression that it gives of a marked tendency towards naturalism of design, to the swimming girls on the Louvre vase and to the wrestlers on the amphora in Berlin. Very similar wounded figures occur on the signed kylix in Palermo, though in this case they are not quite so well drawn—probably owing to their small size. Other details beside the decorations of the dresses, that agree with the signed vases, are the earrings with their large form and elaborate decoration of pendants.<sup>27</sup> Further, the sword scabbards are of just the form and decoration Andokides seems to have preferred,<sup>28</sup> and the decorated greaves of one of the fighting Amazons can be partially matched by those of one of the warriors on the signed Louvre vase. The difference in the way the Amazons are dressed and armed finds its counterpart in the Amazons on the Louvre vase.

<sup>27</sup> *Cf.* signed "Amazon" vase in Louvre and Berlin vase.

<sup>28</sup> *Cf.* Berlin and both signed Louvre vases. Their occurrence also invariably on the unsigned vases, which I have tried to show came from Andokides' workshop, adds probability but not proof to this vase having the same origin as the others.

The variety in the way the figures on these vases are armed is very noticeable. It does not occur on the Palermo kylix, but there the small size of the vase, just as it led Andokides to be rather less elaborate in his drawing than on the amphoras, was also the cause, probably, of the lesser elaboration of detail. The two warriors on the signed Louvre vase are a good case in point. Except the two spears, not a single weapon or article of the one is like the corresponding weapon or article of the other. One warrior wears thigh-protectors, the other has none; one has a round, the other a Boiotian shield; one has a double crest on his Korinthian helmet, the other has a dog (?) or fox (?), whose tail forms the crest proper. And so on.

Helmets were an article on which Andokides seems to have enjoyed letting his imagination play. On the two signed Louvre vases there are three Korinthian helmets, each of which is different from the other two. A helmet with a dog on it occurs on a vase by Amasis<sup>29</sup> and on a much later red-figured vase,<sup>30</sup> but it seems never to have been a common type, and the extra weight of the bronze animal would have made it impracticable for actual use. The type with double crests, such as the other warrior on the Louvre vase has, was common enough. It was known even as early as Homer's time,<sup>31</sup> and occurs again and again on vases. There were, however, two or more ways of arranging these crests. Either they rose from the sides of the helmet, over the top, in converging curves like horns,<sup>32</sup> or else they were arranged as on this vase, one in front and one behind, on the long axis of the helmet. Helbig does not acknowledge this arrangement, but says: "Diese letzten Darstellungsweise ist, wie es scheint, nur dadurch veranlasst, dass es sehr schwierig war, einer solchen Helm [one with the crests rising from the sides] in der Profilansicht zu deutlichen Ausdrücke zu bringen, da hierbei die dem Betrachter zunächst befindliche Röhre die andere deckte." There

<sup>29</sup> *Wiener Vorlegebl.*, 1889, III, 3b.

<sup>30</sup> BAUMEISTER, *Denk. d. klass. Alterthums.*, abb. 505=*Bullet. arch. Napol.*, I, Tav. 7.

<sup>31</sup> See HELBIG, *Das Homerische Epos*, p. 301.

<sup>32</sup> HELBIG, fig. 105. Cf. fragment of vase by Nikosthenes, *Wien. Vorlegebl.*, 1891, Taf. VI, 4b. Also amphora in Munich, No. 13 (Gerhard, *Auserl. Vasenb.*, 114), and Munich, Nos. 579, 1333, 1295.

are, however, two points that go against this view, at least so far as Andokides is concerned. The first is that he not only shows no signs of having been afraid to attempt to draw objects that were foreshortened, but, on the contrary, seems to have enjoyed doing so. Athena's shield and the athletes on the Berlin vase, the chariot on the Castle Ashby vase, the satyrs on the one in Madrid, or the swimming girls on the one in the Louvre, prove convincingly that Andokides was not afraid of the difficulties of his art. Furthermore, it is very risky, when dealing with the work of a man who drew as well as Andokides, to say that had he known enough he would have represented objects in a manner different from that in which he has represented them. There is, however, another fact that is perhaps even more convincing. Before thinking that Andokides made a mistake in his drawing, one must ask the question: Is there any reason to suppose that such a helmet did not exist? On the ground of balancing the helmet, this method of arranging the crests is just as practical, I believe, as arranging them like horns; and the only reason against it would be that it seems as though having the tail of the crest hanging in front of his face must have been inconvenient to the warrior. But against this supposition may be brought two facts. The first is that the tail of the crest is rather short. The second is that, whether inconvenient or not, such a type occurs with a single crest. On the "Amazon" vase by Andokides, in the Louvre, between the feet of the horse, there is resting on the ground a Korinthian helmet, from the top of which rises an oval knob. In front of the knob is a horn-like object curving towards the front, to the top of which is fastened a crest (presumably of colored horsehair)<sup>33</sup> which falls in front of the helmet. The oval knob must be, I think, to balance the weight of the crest and its support. Whether this support was a real horn or merely made of metal we cannot tell with certainty, but it is safe to assume that if of metal it was meant to be an imitation of a horn. It has the shape of a horn, and in this differs from the usual crest support, which is of the same thickness from end to end and probably of rectangular section. Furthermore, horns were used as decora-

<sup>33</sup> See HELBIG, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

tion of helmets. Herodotos<sup>34</sup> tells of a race who formed part of Xerxes' host, and who had ἐπὶ δὲ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κράνεα χάλκεα· πρὸς δὲ τοῖσι κράνεσι ὧτά τε καὶ κέρα προσῆν βοὸς χάλκεα, ἐπήσαν δὲ καὶ λόφοι. Such helmets as these, with crests and horns (but without ears), occur on the famous vase fragment from Mykenai<sup>35</sup> and on the Klazomenai sarcophagi.<sup>36</sup>

Another type of helmet which falls midway between the one with a single crest falling to the front and the one with two crests (each having its own support), one of which falls in front and one behind, is shown on a sarcophagus also from Klazomenai,<sup>37</sup> on which a warrior is represented with a helmet, from the top of which rises a *single* horn-like support, from which depend two crests, one to the front and one to the back. Hence, although Helbig is probably right in thinking that some of the earliest painters may have represented helmet-crests which in reality fell over the sides, as though they fell to the front and back, still there can be no doubt, I think, that this latter type existed.

The Dionysiac scene on the other side of the Orvieto vase is quite as markedly in the style of Andokides as the Herakles scene. The richly ornamented draperies worn by Dionysos, which cling close, showing the outline of his body, the numerous and fine folds and the long, hanging ends of his himation, are such as I have called attention to several times on the signed vases. The taste for variety of movement and complicated positions comes out well in the group of the two satyrs, one of whom carries the other on his shoulders.<sup>38</sup> We may conclude, then, that this vase also was made at least by a pupil of, if not by, Andokides himself.

No. 5. This amphora is in Munich (No. 388). It belongs to the red and black-figured class.

<sup>34</sup> VII, 76. Stein thinks they were the Pisidians. There is a lacuna in the text. Cf. statue of warrior from Delos, No. 247, in the Athens Museum.

<sup>35</sup> SCHLIEHMANN, *Mycenæ and Tiryns*, p. 133. With this fragment and the one represented on p. 139, cf. Homer, *Il.* x, 260 ff.

<sup>36</sup> *Antike Denkmäler*, B'd I, Hft. 4. Taf. 44-46. Cf. black-figured amphora in Munich, No. 3.

<sup>37</sup> *Journ. of Hell. Studies*, IV, Pl. 31.

<sup>38</sup> For similar groups see *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, 1890, Pl. 12. *Roem. Mitt.*, 1891, p. 290 (Petersen). Catalogue of Greek Vases in the Ashmolean Museum, Pl.

On the black-figured side Herakles, the lower part of his body draped in a black and red-striped robe covered with a star pattern, lies to the left on a *kline* under a grapevine. He is bearded and curly-haired, each curl being engraved. In front of the *kline* is a small table on which stands a kylix and food. Above Herakles hang his bow, quiver and sword. In front of him stands Athena (to right) armed with Attic helmet, ægis and spear, and clad in a striped (black and red) Doric chiton. She stretches her right hand towards Herakles. The ægis fits her like a cuirass. A line of interwoven snakes runs up her back, and also from her throat to her waist. This form of ægis is due to the artist's imperfect understanding of the limits of profile drawing. He wanted to show all the snakes which were on both edges of the ægis, and could have been seen only from in front, and so he drew them in this manner. It is simply another of the innumerable instances in which the Greek artist represented part of a figure in full front and part in profile.

Behind Herakles stands (to right) a small, nude servant; his left hand hangs open by his side, his right is stretched over the top of a large *deimos*, which stands in front of him on an elaborately carved support. His hair is drawn in the same way as that of Herakles. Behind Athena is Hermes (to right) clad in dotted tunic with maeander border at neck and bottom; also a striped (red and black) and dotted chlamys. Both arms are bent across his breast. He is bearded, his hair is long, one lock falling over his shoulder, and along his brow are little spiral curls.

On the red-figured side the scene is similar. Herakles lies (to left) on a richly decorated *kline*.<sup>39</sup> His himation, patterned with dots and crosses, covers him completely but for his right arm and

<sup>39</sup> In Jahn's catalogue this figure is called Dionysos. This is surely a mistake, for such a type as this of Athena and Dionysos did not exist, and it is one of the typical ones for Athena and Herakles. (See GERHARD, *Trinkschalen*, Taf. C, 8. Cf. also ROSCHER's *Lexikon d. Griech. und Röm. Myth.*, I, 2215). It is true that none of Herakles' usual attributes are represented, but the artist may have thought that, as he had put them on the opposite side of the vase, they were not needed here. Furthermore, the figure has not the characteristics which Andokides gave Dionysos. On the vase in Madrid and the one in Castle Ashby he has long hair. So also on the unsigned Louvre and Bologna vases, and I think on the one in Orvieto. Here, however, the hair is short, and in this and the red beard the hair agrees perfectly with the type of Herakles drawn by Andokides on the Berlin vase and with the type on the unsigned vases in London, Paris and Orvieto.

breast. He is bearded (purple overlaid) and has a wreath of leaves (purple overlaid) in his hair. His left arm rests on a richly embroidered cushion, and in his left hand he holds a kantharos. His right hand clasps his raised right knee. Before the *kline* is a small table, on which are a kylix and various offerings of food. Over and about the *kline* a grape-vine stretches its branches. The leaves are made with purple paint overlaid. At the foot of the *kline* stands Athena clad in a Doric chiton (of a diaper pattern of crosses and dots), and armed with Attic helmet, spear and ægis. She has a flower in her right hand, which she stretches towards Herakles.

A superficial examination is quite sufficient to enable one to see that this vase is closely connected with Andokides and his school. There is the same delicacy of technique and richness of detail that characterize Andokides' work. But beyond this the similarity of certain figures and details on this vase to those on the signed vases can hardly be explained except by the supposition that this and the signed vases were made in the same workshop. The figure of Athena, for instance, is, but for the absence of the shield and the different form of the ægis, almost a duplicate of the Athena on the Berlin vase. Her helmet, her face with queerly-drawn chin and mouth, her dress (note the way the further side shows between her feet), are as nearly alike as two things can be that are not absolute copies one of the other. Her gesture of holding the flower occurs again on the signed Louvre vase, and was, as I have already noted, a gesture frequently adopted by Andokides and his school. But if the likeness between the Athena on this vase and the figures of the same goddess on the signed amphoras is marked, it is still more noticeable between this and some of the other unsigned vases. But for a difference in size the Athena on the British Museum vase and the one on the Munich vase are almost absolute replicas of each other. The pattern of the dress is exactly the same, even in the way it stops at the knees. The bottom of the dress and the feet on one vase are almost indistinguishable from those on the other—even the decorations of the helmet repeat one another almost exactly. The figure of Athena on the unsigned Louvre vase can scarcely be differentiated from these other two. Naturally the comparison of

one unsigned vase with another proves nothing as to their authorship, and all I wish to show is that the reasons I adduce for connecting one of these unsigned vases with Andokides hold good for all of them.

If, further, the figure of Herakles, particularly the head, be compared with the figures on the signed vases, the similarity of form and technique will be seen to be very marked. It is true that the freedom of composition and search for naturalism of representation which I have attempted to show was Andokides' chief characteristic, is hardly noticeable on this vase, but there are traces of it in the manner in which Herakles' leg shows through the drapery, and in the folds of the himation about his arm and waist. But though less distinctly marked by the characteristics which distinguish the known work of Andokides than the other vases in our list, this vase belongs to the same class, that is to the vases made under his influence and probably his direct supervision, and which for all purposes of the broader study of ceramography may be considered together with his signed works. The fact that the vase shows less clearly than some others the special characteristics of Andokides does not invalidate this statement, for the works of any artist, even of one hampered by conventionalities and ignorance, vary from one another often very greatly.

The chief points to notice in the black-figured picture are the delicacy of drawing, and the fact that the scene is not as well drawn as the red-figured one—a difference that, as I have said above, occurs also on the Louvre and Bologna vases.

No. 6. This, the last vase to consider, is a red-figured amphora, of which, unfortunately, only fragments remain.<sup>40</sup> They are in the collection of Dr. Friedrich Hauser, in Stuttgart, to whom I owe the most sincere thanks for his great generosity in sending me and putting entirely at my disposal, his own drawings of them.

On one side of the vase is Herakles and the Nemean Lion.<sup>41</sup> Athena and Iolaos stand by. Herakles leans over to the right

<sup>40</sup> *Jahrbuch*, 1893, p. 100, note 15.

<sup>41</sup> The condition of the fragments does not allow a very detailed description of the scene.

(grasping the lion around the body?). Above him hang his bow and quiver. Behind Herakles stands Athena clad in an ornamented chiton and ægis and armed with Attic helmet and spear. Behind the lion is Iolaos. He is bearded, has fillet in his hair, and holds Herakles's club, which is shown merely by an incised outline in the black background.

On the other side, on the left, a woman clad in chiton and himation, both of dotted pattern, stands to the right, talking with a hoplite. Behind him is a horseman, to the right, who wears an elaborate chlamys (the arrangement of which is not quite clear) and carries two spears. In front of and facing the horseman is a bowman in Scythian costume.

That this vase is closely related to the Andokides vases is clear, but I do not believe that it is by Andokides himself. If it is by him, it certainly falls far below the standard of his signed work. It is true that in the Herakles scene the Athena bears a marked resemblance to the figures of the same goddess on the Berlin and Louvre signed vases, but a close examination shows that this resemblance is not so great as it seems at first sight to be. As I have frequently said, the sureness, delicacy and abundance of detail of Andokides' drawing form one of his most marked characteristics. These qualities are all lacking in the fragment. The helmet crest, the snakes of the ægis and the feet are all drawn with an unsteady hand. The crest does not show the very delicate decoration that those of the Athenas on the signed vases, and even on the unsigned ones exhibit, but has instead a more clumsy stripe. Then the uncertain and irregular drawing of the patterns on the dress and of the scales on the ægis is very different from the decisive, almost mechanical, work on the two signed vases. Further, to obviate the difficulty of making the quiver-strap and club red-figured, the artist painted the former with purple paint overlaid on the black background and merely incised the outline of the latter. The Louvre "Amazon" vase shows that Andokides was not troubled by such difficulties incident to the red-figured technique. The legs and feet of Herakles and Iolaos are poorly drawn, and the head of the latter is not at all of the same type as that found on the signed vases; the mouth, nose, eyes, in fact every part, including the way the hair is made, by little dots of overlaid purple, are different.



On the other side of the vase the same general similarity to Andokides' work is visible, but also the same unlikeness. The figure on the left looks like figures by Andokides, but differs, just like the Athena, from the signed figures in being badly drawn. If any figure with a spotted chiton by Andokides be compared with this one, the irregularity and clumsiness of the pattern on the fragment will at once be seen to be in marked contrast to the extremely careful work of the master. The same criticism holds good in regard to the bowman. Of the horse it is difficult to speak, there is so little of him left; but I think he is a rather more thin-necked, flat-chested type than Andokides drew. But as a horse occurs only once on the signed vases, it is almost quite useless to endeavor to draw any deductions from the way he is drawn.

In neither of the pictures is there any sign of an endeavor on the part of the artist to attain any realism of representation, such as I have tried to point out on the signed vases. Taken all in all, we may safely conclude that the artist of the fragments was *not* Andokides, but was of the same period and probably influenced by him—perhaps was one of his assistants.

## II.

The study of these vases in their detailed aspect suggests one or two problems of a general but important character which need to be considered. One of these is the date at which Andokides lived, another is the origin of the red-figured technique.

The first of these can be settled with comparative accuracy. Loeschcke<sup>42</sup> has pointed out the similarity in style between the basreliefs of the middle part of the sixth century B. C. and the vases of Exekias and his contemporaries. Further, among the rubbish used by Kimon to build up the Akropolis in Athens, after its burning by the Persians, have been found vase fragments of the styles of Exekias and Epiktetos, and some of even more advanced red-figured work than that of the latter master. Hence the Andokides and other vases of the transition period must be set several years earlier than the Persian Wars. Just how many

<sup>42</sup> *Athen. Mitth.*, IV, 289 f. Taf. II.

years it is impossible to say. Hartwig, however, has shown good reason to believe that the beginning of the activity of Euphronios was about 500 B. C.<sup>43</sup> Hence, if we allow twenty-five or thirty years for the advances in power of drawing, *etc.*, which distinguish vases of transition period from those of the still hampered, but notwithstanding much freer, style of Euphronios and his contemporaries, we shall probably not be far wrong. Still another bit of evidence is to be derived from an inscription discovered on the Akropolis,<sup>44</sup> which reads: *Νησιάδης κεραμεύς με καὶ Ἀνδοκίδης ἀνέθηκεν*. That this Andokides was the vase painter whose works we have been studying, there seems no reason to doubt, for the inscriptions found on the Akropolis show that it was a not uncommon event for the vase painters to set up an offering to the goddess.<sup>45</sup> The inscription belongs to the latter half of the sixth century B. C. From all this evidence we get tolerably certain evidence as to where Andokides lived and are also able to date him very accurately.

Bearing in mind, now, when and where Andokides worked, it will be well to see what relation his work bears to that of his predecessors. Klein<sup>46</sup> says of his work: "Exekias blickt als Vorbild überall durch, so dass die Vermuthung er wäre sein Lehrer gewesen, sehr nahe liegt. Schon die Gefässformen und die beträchtlichen Dimensionen erinnern an ihn." The idea expressed in the second sentence is manifestly valueless in the discussion. The shape of amphora used by Andokides was a development from earlier forms and was in common use in his day. Exekias neither invented it, nor was he the sole user of it in the generation preceding Andokides. Finally, of the four amphoras that are signed by Exekias, only *one* has the form used by Andokides. Further, no argument lies in the fact that of the five amphoras signed by Andokides, four of them happen to be of a size that corresponds to certain vases we have by Exekias. The number of signed vases we have by either master is altogether too

<sup>43</sup> HARTWIG, *Die Griechischen Meisterschalen*, p. 1 ff.

<sup>44</sup> CIA. 393. *Jahrbuch*, II (1887), p. 145.

<sup>45</sup> Dedicatory inscriptions have been found, besides the one quoted, of Nearchos, Kriton and Euphronios. See STUDNICZKA in the *Jahrbuch*, 1889, p. 135 ff. In relation to Athena as patron goddess of potters, see PRELLER, *Griechische Mythologie*, 4th ed., I, p. 222.

<sup>46</sup> *Griech. Vasen mit Meistersig.*, p. 188.

small for us to argue in this way. And is it credible that an artist as original as Andokides should have been so influenced by his master (whoever he may have been) as to prefer to make vases of the same size as the master had made them?

As a matter of fact, it is a hopeless task to try to solve the question of the absolute relation of Andokides to his predecessors. In the work of Andokides (and much more so in that of the earlier artists) the full expression of the personality of the man was so hampered by ignorance of drawing and by conventionalities of one sort and another that to attempt to build, on the very weak foundation of our present knowledge, a genealogical tree of the art-family to which this artist belonged, would be a futile task. When one remembers the extreme conventionality of the drawing of all the artists at this time, and that the likenesses in the work of any body of artists who have only half mastered their art, who are in the stage where they cannot express what they will, but only what they have learned how, are always much more marked than in the work of men who have completely mastered it, one will be chary of such theories as Klein's. Klein may be right; but then, again, he may not be. There can be little doubt that Andokides knew the work of Exekias, but there is absolutely no proof that the earlier potter was the master of the later one. There are, of course, similarities in the work of the two men, but they are similarities of convention rather than true similarities of style. Besides, there is another artist to whose work the vases by Andokides bear quite as much resemblance. This artist is Amasis.

As I have said, one of the chief characteristics of Andokides is his liking for great variety of detail. Now, this same variety occurs on the vases by Amasis more than on those by Exekias. I have mentioned the earrings worn by the Amazons and swimming maidens on the Louvre vase as occurring on a vase by Amasis.<sup>47</sup> Then the helmets on the Amasis vases are of as many different forms as on the Andokides vases. Helmets with double or single

<sup>47</sup> *Wien. Vorlegebl.*, 1889, Taf. III, 2.

crests, helmets with animals for crests,<sup>48</sup> helmets of the Korinthian and Attic type, Attic helmets with high or low crests occur on the vases of both. The contrast between this variety and the dull repetition of the same shaped helmets on vases by Exekias,<sup>49</sup> is very noticeable. Or compare the great variety of shield symbols chosen by Amasis<sup>50</sup> and the dull blankness of shields by Exekias.<sup>51</sup> Then the great variety of dress patterns on the Andokides vases is much more nearly equalled by the Amasis than by the Exekias figures. Another little point to notice is the very neat way in which Amasis draws the overlapping folds at the bottom (generally) of short chitons. They are folded so as to make a zig-zag line with sharp points, something like the teeth of a saw.<sup>52</sup> This also occurs on the Andokides vases.<sup>53</sup> These are all little details and may or may not mean anything. They allow us to conclude, however, that, leaving the insoluble question of master and pupil aside, the vases by Andokides bear more resemblance to those by Amasis than to those of any other of the earlier vase painters.

The second question, that as to the origin of the red-figured technique, is one that is not so easy to solve. I cannot see, however, that there is any ground for certain of the theories that have been propounded. In the first place, there is no reason for any theory in regard to the matter. The use of the red-figured technique had no development, in the proper sense of the word, and,

<sup>48</sup> On an amphora in the British Museum (B, 209). LOESCHKE (*Arch. Ztg.*, 1881, p. 31, note 9) tried to prove this vase to be by Exekias. His first argument relative to the inscriptions is scarcely credible. It is (in part) that the word Amasis is the name of one of the servants, but that: "Einen zweiten für einen Aethiopen passenden Namen kannte der ungenannte Verfertiger der Vase nicht und schrieb deshalb sinnlose Zeichen"! Exekias's knowledge can hardly have been so limited. His second argument, that the technique looks more like that of Exekias than that of Amasis, has force.

Mr. Cecil Smith follows this view (*Cf. Wiener Vorlegebl.*, 1889; Verzeichniss d. Tafeln. Taf. III, 3), but adds evidence in regard to the style. I do not quite see the force of his argument about the use of H in the inscription, for if it does not occur elsewhere on Amasis vases, no more does it on those by Exekias.

NOTE.—Since the above was written, Mr. Cecil Smith wrote relative to my remark: "That is so; but since Exekias is certainly a later artist than Amasis, he is less unlikely to have used H than Amasis; of course it is not saying much."

<sup>49</sup> *Wien. Vorlegebl.*, 1888. Taf. VI, VII.

<sup>50</sup> *Wien. Vorlegebl.*, 1889, III, 2 c.

<sup>51</sup> *Id.*, 1888, VII, 1 c, 1 d.

<sup>52</sup> *Wien. Vorlegebl.*, 1889, Taf. IV, 4 b.

<sup>53</sup> "Warrior" vase in Louvre; Berlin and Palermo vases.

owing to the nature of things, could have had none. There is no intermediate stage possible between making vases with black figures on a red background and vases with red figures on a black background.<sup>54</sup> The idea must have come to some vase-painter all at once. To theorise as to who this vase-painter was or about the original cause of his ideas is quite useless. The only point on which to theorise is: when were red-figured vases first made? and this question the excavations on the Akropolis have answered with an accuracy that cannot be more than a decade or two wrong.

Klein<sup>55</sup> propounds the theory that the red-figured technique was developed from the gorgoneion on the inside of kylixes. As I have said above, there is no development in the red-figured technique. Moreover, this is a theory based upon a mere supposition and not on any fact. Such theories delay rather than advance knowledge. Not only this, but even if one looks at the matter from Klein's point of view, the facts go directly against him. If the gorgoneion suggested red-figured technique (be it remembered that the gorgoneion *is in the red-figured technique*, so how it can have *suggested* it is difficult to understand), how does it happen that of all the kylixes which show both techniques together only one<sup>57</sup> has the *inner* picture red-figured with the *outer* black-figured. It might quite as well have been "developed" from the outline heads that occur on the kylixes by Hermogenes, Takonides or the other painters of this class.

The believers in Klein's theory might say that, the exterior being the most important part of the vase, the new invention was tried on that part first. This, on grounds of common sense,

<sup>54</sup> It might be thought that drawing the figures in outline, merely leaving the uncolored clay as background, would be an intermediate stage. This, however, would be a different technique, and as no such work has ever been found, it is useless to discuss the point.

When, after writing the above, I was in London, Mr. Cecil Smith showed me a fragment, found in Naukratis, in the very technique which I have said had never been found. This broken bit shows parts of two figures—a satyr grasping a maenad around the waist. Mr. Cecil Smith knew of no other case but this one. This fragment is, of course, of great value and interest, but is scarcely of weight enough to alter the general truth of my statement.

<sup>55</sup> *Euphronios*, p. 32 ff.

<sup>56</sup> Kylix by Epilykos in the Louvre.

would be unlikely, for the artist would hardly have practised new methods at the risk of ruining his wares. Further, it would have to be proved that the exterior was the most important part of the vase—a difficult task until we know just how much the kylixes were put to real use and how much they were ornamental.

Hartwig<sup>57</sup> has propounded another theory; he says: “Es hat allen Anschein, dass Epiktet geradezu als der Erfinder dieser so überaus wichtigen Neuerung gelten darf. Jedenfalls erhielt die Malerie mit rothen Figuren durch ihn und seine Genossen ihre erste Ausbildung.” The latter part of this passage is, of course, true, but the statement that Epiktetos was the inventor of the red-figured technique is a pure theory. We know that the technique began in his time, but it is quite impossible to prove that any particular man invented it; and if we could, the fact would have but the slightest interest, for these vase-painters are mere names to us.

If, however, we search for what may be considered the first appearance of the red-figured technique, it is perhaps to be found in the vases with black background, *over* which the design is painted, generally in white or red.<sup>58</sup> Six says<sup>59</sup> that his conviction is: “que les premiers essais de cette catégorie sont antérieurs aux figures rouges et qu’ils ont peut-être été en quelque chose dans cette nouvelle invention.” Any one who reads his article and considers for a moment what he points out, that an enormous quantity of black-figured vases have their designs enlivened in part by red or other colors, being overlaid on parts of the design, and who remembers, further, that the whole tendency of Greek art, at the beginning of the fifth century B. C., was towards naturalism, will share this conviction rather than accede to theories such as that of Klein. For this naturalism was only to be got by making the figures light against a dark background, because so long as we see by means of light, those designs are the clearest in which the masses are light and the details dark, rather than *vice versa*. That is to say, an outline drawing is more easily understood than a silhouette. The only difficulty for the Greek vase-painter was

<sup>57</sup> *Die Griechischen Meisterschalen*, p. 12.

<sup>58</sup> Six, *Vases Polychromes sur Fond noir*, *Gaz. Arch.*, 1888, 193 ff. and 281 ff.

<sup>59</sup> p. 194.

to lay the black varnish smoothly around the design. Yet this difficulty made no appreciable delay in the history of red-figured vases. For though some of the vases mentioned by Six are slightly earlier than any red-figured vases, yet this "polychrome" form of vase decoration does not seem to have existed at all by itself. It never, that is to say, formed an intermediate stage between the black-figured and red-figured techniques. Further, these polychrome vases prove what I said above, that there is no development possible from the black-figured to the red-figured technique, for these "polychrome" vases belong truly to the red-figured class. Who the artist was who first realized the fact that more truth to nature was possible with the red than with the black figures, we shall probably never know, but that the idea must have come to him full-fledged is clear. The only question that can have arisen in his mind was, whether it would be better to paint the designs *over* the black or to leave them the ground color and draw the black background up to them. This second method, as being the most thorough and satisfactory, was naturally the one the Greeks followed.

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NOTE I.—Since writing the above I have seen photographs of two other amphoras which deserve notice because of their likeness to those I have mentioned above. One of them is in the Bourignon collection in Naples (Figs. 15 and 16). It is exactly the same in general appearance as the other amphoras. Its chief peculiarities are that the same scene (two warriors playing with *pessi*) occurs on both sides, and that one side is in black-figured while the other is in red-figured technique. The similarity between these two scenes and the one representing the same subject on the vase in the British Museum is very striking, and perhaps the only reason (though I do not feel sure that that is a valid one) for not believing the vase to be by Andokides is the lack of signature and the weakness of imagination shown in not changing the subject on the two sides. In all details the vase (so far as one can judge by a not very good photograph) agrees perfectly with the work of Andokides—it shows the same love of ornament and the same accuracy of drawing, while the differences in action and dress of the two black-figured warriors and the two

red-figured ones remind one of Andokides' realistic tendencies. If the vase is not by the master, it is by one of his best pupils.

For my knowledge of the second vase I am much indebted to Mr. Cecil Smith, in whose own words it is best described. I have seen only an extremely minute photograph of it, and can merely say that it is undoubtedly in the style of Andokides; more than this I cannot say. This makes little difference, however, for Mr. Cecil Smith himself would say no more, I believe, than that the vase is intimately connected with Andokides' work. His description is as follows :—

“Private collection in Northumberland. Amphora. Usual Andokides form, with faces of handles decorated with ivy leaf pattern, b. f. Ht. 1 ft. 8 in. *Sale-Catalogue de Bammerville*, Christie & Manson, 1854, May 13, No. 40; probably the same as is described in *Bull. dell' Inst.*, 1842, p. 187; see Jahn, *Vasens. zu München*. Einleitg., note 494; and Klein, *Euphron.*,<sup>2</sup> p. 36, note 1. Broken, but apparently complete. A is partly repainted over breaks. Both sides in panels. Net pattern on each side; above, chain of palmette and bud; under, same inverted. Below two purple lines continuous all round. Round foot rays. In B purple leaves, lines on bow-case, jowl of lionskin, cord of bull, one sybenè, and taenia; the purple on the jowl is scored with incised lines, which are elaborate throughout. Beard in raised dots, black on black, and edge of hair incised.

“A. Black-figured. *Herakles with Cretan Bull*. *Herakles* (bearded, short chiton, lionskin with tail looped up in girdle, bow, quiver and sword, all at waist) carrying club over right shoulder; moves to right, driving *bull* by a cord fastened around horns. In his left he holds the cord and also a sacrificial torch; from the biceps of this arm hang two sybene, one colored purple. From the horns of the bull hang elaborate fillets, and its tail is very carefully plaited. It is evidently the typical bull of sacrifice. Its neck is marked vertically with parallel wavy lines, alternately incised and purple. In background, beside bull, a tree.

“B. Red-figured. The same identically.”

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NOTE II.—Since writing the above article, Dr. Hauser has published in the *Jahrbuch d. k. d. Arch. Inst.*, 1895, p. 151 f.,





FIG. 15.—OVERSE OF AMPHORA IN STYLE OF ANDOKIDES—NAPLES.

certain fragments of a kylix in the Munich collection which he attributes to Andokides. I agree entirely with what Dr. Hauser says, and would merely emphasize the fact that the various ways used to represent one object, as, for instance, the hair, and the variety of position and action of the figures represented by the artist of the fragments, are the characteristics which I have endeavored to show constitute the chief points of difference between Andokides and other vase-painters of his time.

Owing to the kindness of Professor Marquand, my attention has been called to an amphora published by Percy Gardner in the *Catalogue of the Greek Vases in the Ashmolean Museum*, p. 10, No. 212, Pl. 2. Although bearing a certain resemblance to Andokides' work, a close study of the vase will show, I believe, that it was

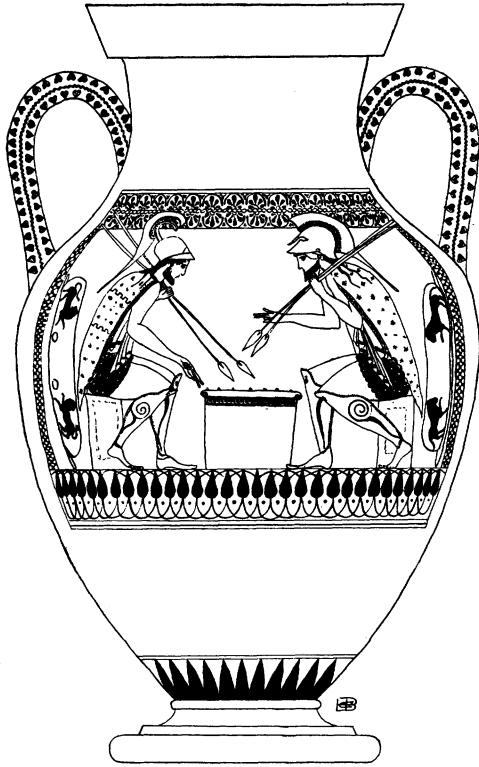


FIG. 16.—REVERSE OF AMPHORA IN STYLE OF ANDOKIDES—NAPLES.

not made by Andokides. The carelessness of part of the drawing (the Doric column), the lack of firm accuracy of line (Herakles' feet, the horses' legs, *etc.*), the want of care and fineness in detail (Athena's dress, the dress of the man in white, the lappets of the tunic of the warrior in white at the horses' heads, *etc.*), and finally the bad drawing of parts (the horses' heads, *etc.*), and the difference in facial type between the figures and those on the signed vases show another master than Andokides. The vase is, however, of great interest, as showing the similarities in the work of contemporary artists induced by a knowledge of technique insufficient to allow the artist to express himself with complete freedom and forcing him to adopt certain conventionalities.

RICHARD NORTON.